

Silencing and Unsilencing Sexual Violence in Hungary

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Continued Violence and Troublesome Pasts

Post-war Europe between the Victors
after the Second World War

Edited by Ville Kivimäki and Petri Karonen



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Silencing and Unsilencing Sexual Violence in Hungary¹

Researching wartime rape is exceptionally difficult because the phenomenon is surrounded by a 'conspiracy of silence'.² The silence has also been reinforced by practically all those involved, whether they be the perpetrators, rape victims, or witnesses as they all share the interest to keep what has happened silenced. The wartime rape cases which we hear about should be handled with some methodological precaution. In recent mainstream literature the definition of rape has also noticeably shifted from being an exceptional occurrence, solely linked to the deviant attitude of an individual perpetrator. Recent research in Hungary has unleashed a public discourse that sometimes oversimplifies the analysis of rape, by explaining it away as a weapon of war. This treats rape as if it were a weapon in the hand of military leaders or politicians, and wielded to punish particular groups of people on purpose. This can be described as an 'intentionalist' interpretation, which ethnicises rape and associates it with a particular group of people. However, a 'structuralist' interpretation considers rape to be a foundational tool in the power relationship between genders and defined by patriarchy.

In Hungary, the publication in 2013 of a collected volume of archival sources edited by Tamás Krausz and Éva Varga, documented rapes committed by the occupying Hungarian army in the Soviet Union.³ Despite its numerous methodological issues this volume nevertheless sheds light on how Hungarian soldiers implicated themselves in the culture of rape as occupiers. No matter how flawed, this is how research into this subject must begin, by breaking the conspiracy of silence and talking about wartime rape, it is now acknowledged as a valid topic of research. This is then followed up by finer more detailed work, which should be professionally established, methodologically impeccable, and in accordance with research ethics.

Rapes committed by Soviet soldiers have remained unpunished. To date, we have little knowledge about the administrative mechanisms of justice within the Red Army, or even whether such mechanisms existed at all. Both these factors strengthened and perpetuated a culture of violence. For many years, I have tried to get permission to research Russian military sources to find out more about this, but without success. I will therefore analyse accessible online sources after first detailing the methodology. This analysis is critical because rapes committed by Soviet soldiers are presently becoming

key tropes of Second World War historiographical research in Hungary, but if rape committed by Soviet soldiers is subject to analysis while rape committed by the Hungarian army's soldiers is not, then an intentionalist discourse of simplified victimhood will be produced, according to which 'the Russians raped Hungarian women.' In this chapter, based on a comparison of the rapes committed by German and Soviet troops in Hungary, I therefore aim to redress this balance. We need to emphasise early on that the topic of rape typically caters to certain simplifications such as this, where the woman's individual tragedy is supposed to represent the whole nation. Soviet soldiers raped Hungarian women, and Japanese soldiers raped Korean women, but this obscures other structural power relations inherent in the phenomenon. The intentionalist discourse can thus be misleading in two ways. First, it confounds rape's structural essence with any other kind of violence experienced in war, all the while enabling a one-sided collective remembrance that excludes all others. Second, the intentionalist discourse does not create a social space within which rape victims are given the chance to process the violent acts they suffered with dignity and so that they can have a better vision for the future.

In this chapter I am therefore going to undertake three tasks:

1. I will review the questions that emerge when we compare rapes committed by German and Soviet troops respectively, ignoring in this instance the equally cruel acts of the Hungarian troops when they were an occupation force. I will then examine how a simplified discourse is produced to explain the overall phenomenon.
2. I argue that the intentionalist politics of remembrance – based on victimhood and monopolising the historical truth – in the long run hinders the establishment of a critical view of history. I also suggest ways in which this conflict between intentionalist and structuralist interpretations be resolved.
3. I will examine whether the Russian sources available online might nuance the image of the 'raping Russian horde.' I do this to clarify the link between a lack of visual representation of rapes committed by Soviet soldiers, and the possibility of consequently reinterpreting the frame of remembrance. Again, I use this to argue for a reconciliation of intentionalist and structuralist approaches.

Comparison

The German army was stationed in Hungary for only a short while. The two countries were officially allies, and so when German troops entered the territory on 19 March 1944, they were met with hardly any resistance. These two factors: the brevity of their stay, and that the fact the countries were allies defined how rapes committed by German soldiers in Hungary were remembered. If we rely on collective memories, including two letters I received after my lectures, then it appears that German soldiers did not rape Hungarian women; in direct contrast to Soviet soldiers, whom 'everyone

knows' committed acts of mass rape against Hungarians, Jewish women in hiding, Germans, Poles, Slovaks, and so on. Although the Red Army eventually won bloody battles to finally defeat German and Hungarian troops that supported lethal fascist ideologies, they nevertheless lost the political battle of remembrance from the moment the country was 'liberated'.

If we are trying to analyse the rapes committed by German and Soviet soldiers more closely, the first question is: what kinds of sources are accessible? This accessibility has defined how the discourse has developed, and how rape is remembered. As noted above, the phenomenon is surrounded by a conspiracy of silence. When discussed, it is done within a restricted vocabulary and tight narrative framework, because of the multiple taboos attached to it. This posits a specific methodological and theoretical challenge for historians, and raises moral questions for researchers of gender. In my conclusion I will therefore argue the possibilities for an alternative discourse.

In Hungary the atrocities committed by Soviet soldiers against civilians were for a long time a taboo subject. Because of the wartime circumstances, only a small amount of written documents recorded the deeds of Soviet soldiers in Hungarian territories. Indirect sources had to be consulted as well.⁴ For the longest time, and for manifold reasons, no one spoke publicly about the rapes committed against women – neither the victims themselves, the bureaucrats, the police, nor the perpetrators. Related documents are scarce and often incidental to something else. In principle, one could rely on military, medical, criminal, administrative, and foreign affairs sources for a comparative overview of rape cases. However, in Russia, access to the Red Army's relevant military and medical material is denied. Pioneering, critical and innovative archival research has just recently started.⁵ In the Hungarian National Archives, among the era's documents related to foreign affairs, one can find individual letters of complaint from various parts of the country detailing atrocities against civilians. Hungarian administrative reports, and the *főispán*⁶ reports made to the state, also mention some isolated cases, but these would seem to be insufficient to get an idea of the bigger picture. On those territories, which were on the frontline, and therefore first occupied by one army, and then another, the returning 'Arrow Cross'⁷ men reported on the brutality of Soviet forces stationed previously in the area. The reports circulated, but the source value of these documents preserved among Arrow Cross files is low. Likewise, one should treat with caution the verdicts of the People's Courts, which charged people for standing up to the looting and pillaging of Soviet troops with the same crime as civilians who killed or informed on Jews during the war. The files of the chief medical officer and hospitals preserved at the Budapest Municipal Archive provide an incomplete view of the consequences of rape such as sexually transmitted diseases or abortion statistics. Meanwhile, orphanage and adoption files are not accessible due to privacy protection. Ecclesiastical sources, such as the materials kept at the Primate's Archives in Esztergom, testify that priests and pastors were complaining about the dire situation they had encountered when having to advise religious women who had been raped, impregnated, and needed an abortion.

Literary and cinematographic interpretations of the rapes committed by Soviet soldiers should also be mentioned. Elaine Polcz wrote about her own personal experiences in *One Woman in the War: Hungary 1944–1945* (Asszony a fronton, 1991), and György Konrád offered a fictional adaptation in his novel *A cinkos* (*The Loser*, 1982). These works juxtaposed the authenticity of personal experiences with what was then the 'official' history. Sándor Sára did this with his film *The Prosecution* (*A vád* – 1996). A more recent publication is Judit Kováts's fictional documentary *Denied* (*Megtagadva* – 2012), while Fruzsina Skrabski's *Silenced Shame* (*Elhallgatott gyalázat* – 2013) introduced historical facts to a wider audience, generating a significant public debate. These latest interpretations prove that fictional approaches and quasi-documentary novels using oral histories, interviews and contemporary interpretations as their primary sources are perhaps the most plausible means of narrating this historical fact. Importantly, speakers of these quasi-documentaries are witnesses – never the victims – of the atrocities. Hence we must bear in mind that they are not the ones who actually felt and experienced the rape. Because of the time lag too, there is an ever-slimmer chance that rape survivors will speak out. However, more and more people will discuss what they think happened based on what they saw or heard; or they will voice what they think they are supposed to remember and say. Remembrance is always the result of a ceaseless negotiation between past, present, and future.

The comparison of the Wehrmacht and Red Army posits the dilemma of *jus in bello* (justice in war) versus *jus ad bellum* (justice of war), as hypothesised by Michael Walzer.⁸ The Wehrmacht was the executive force of the Nazi regime, which rode on the myth that they had nothing to do with civilian brutality, killing only on the battlefields consistent with successfully maintained self-imposed military rules. If we read memoirs from the Second World War, the occupying German soldiers are remembered as always acting in as disciplined and regulated manner as their their impeccably ironed uniforms. It was not until the 1998 Wehrmacht exhibition, that this military professionalism and stainless reputation was thrown into doubt.⁹

The statement of General Field Marshal Erich von Manstein, as well as those of other military leaders, reinforced the idea that German soldiers committed no rape, and that if they did, it was a singular occurrence which received punishment as an example to others. These statements remained unquestioned for decades on the western side of the Iron Curtain. Meanwhile, in the Soviet Union, despite the official policy of gender equality, a system of hegemonic masculinity remained. In the anti-fascist discourse, rape was represented as part and parcel of the Nazi (and thus also Hungarian) atrocities of occupation against civilians. The victim's position was thus morally fortified within an internationalist and anti-fascist framework, but not in a violent power-based military framework, as this would have challenged the hegemonic patriarchy.

But were Manstein and others (especially military historians) right when they claimed that German soldiers committed no rape, except for individual punishable cases? Most recently, research by Regina Mühlhäuser, Monika Flaschka, Birgit Beck and others scrutinised the so-called Manstein myth

of an exemplary and disciplined Nazi German army.¹⁰ Based on archival materials and memoirs, they also investigated how this myth of the well-disciplined soldier was in fact probably more to do with the strict sanctions against 'racial defilement' (*Rassenschande*), which according to Nazi ideology was a law that forbade sexual relations between 'Aryans' and 'non-Aryans'. Their research examined the veracity of these claims that German soldiers did not have any sexual relations with Slavic and Jewish women. On the Eastern Front approximately 10 million uniformed German men fought and worked. Military regulations were issued enforcing article 5a of the Wartime Penal Code on rape (*Notzucht*) and article 2 on racial defilement (*Blutschutzgesetz*), but in practice these laws were logistically ineffective. Nevertheless, remembrance of the German army is marked by the denial of sexual violence, similarly to the sporadic yet ever-present Hungarian myth, which equally denies that rape was committed by the Hungarian army when occupying Soviet territory. For the German military leaders, maintaining racial purity laws as well as military order and discipline were clearly of the utmost importance. Violating these compromised the Nazi ideal of masculinity and sex for reproductive purposes only; indeed, as Annette Timm puts it, 'male sexuality was not a source of individual pleasure, but a manifestation of the nation's military power'.¹¹

Women who were raped by German soldiers on the Eastern Front received no legal compensation, whereas on the Western Front effective local administration permitted women to report offences. In the East there was mass rape despite every form of military discipline, regulation, and law, so such a right was unimaginable, with the exception of Hungary. Following German occupation from 19 March 1944, the Hungarian administration remained in place (paradoxically to facilitate the mass deportation of Hungarian Jews), but this cooperation between the Hungarian administration and German occupying forces also had the side effect of (on paper at least) protecting Hungarian women from mass rape. However, many personal accounts show that the Hungarian state's very own uniformed representatives raped Hungarian women citizens, particularly of Jewish origin.¹²

It is important to emphasise that the German military narrative portraying soldiers acting in accordance with the laws and orders of their superiors was never seriously disputed by the Allied powers. Although the Soviets submitted supplementary testimonies in the Nuremberg Trials, about rape committed by German, Hungarian, and other occupying soldiers on Soviet territory, these did not make it into the main narrative mostly because Soviet troops had also committed mass rape as an occupying ('liberating') force. I use the term 'mass' because – as I argued in a 1999 study in the *Történelmi Szemle* – calculating numbers is both scientifically as well as morally problematic. For example, if a woman is raped multiple times in one night, should each rape be counted or is that level of 'precision' missing the point and making things worse?¹³ This is exactly why Skrabski's abovementioned documentary received much justified criticism, because in it the numbers of Hungarian rape cases shift between 80,000 and 800,000, without any reflection on what effect these calculations may have

on those who were raped, nor the significance of the historical and factual impossibility of ascertaining the actual number of rapes with any certainty.

Intentionalist politics of remembrance and its consequences

An intentionalist politics of remembrance, founded on victimhood and on a monopolisation of historical truth, in the long run hinders the establishment of a critical view of history. The history of rapes committed by Soviet soldiers in Hungary has been fully documented, though without the chance to analyse Russian archival materials, which I will come back to later. Almost uniquely in historiography, one may venture the statement that the entirety of Hungarian archival sources listed in the previous section were processed. Further micro-historical research may contribute to the deepening of local knowledge. Here I return to my opening statement: the discourse which is currently evolving in Hungary about the rapes committed by Soviet soldiers, though breaking the 'conspiracy of silence', at the same time simplifies the narrative by creating a victimised ethnic group whose members have all been punished equally. It is worrying that new, local historical researchers prompted by Skrabski's film among others, may well strengthen this simplistic perspective that it was all about the war between the Soviets and Hungarians, and the rape of women will be sidelined and instead used as a tool in the battle of male hegemonic memory politics.

To get away from this unhelpful frame of reference, I suggest two further sources that are becoming increasingly more available be included in the historical analysis. These are internet-based sources and visual representations, and they could potentially open up a new theoretical trajectory beyond the current intentionalist versus structuralist debate. These sources can be used in three ways against silencing: (i) *showcasing*, when contemporaries speak up as witnesses, victims, and perpetrators; (ii) *restructuring the narrative*, by lobbying for a law to ban simplistic attempts to ethnicise the issue of rape committed by the Red Army from the present international perspective of the Ukrainian crisis; and finally (iii) *legal confrontation*, in which court-martial decisions are made public. This latter point would show that there was in fact an institutional retribution for rape, at the same time doing away with the Red Army's image of being an 'uncivilised Asiatic horde'. This might be the most difficult but most promising strategy of the three to pull off, because it has the simultaneous potential of being a critique of militarism. All three strategies are, nevertheless, very much dependent on the decisions of political actors – in terms of what and how information is made available.

Based on the dates that online Russian sources became available, one can trace a clear paradigm shift. While in the early 2000s, self-examination and *showcasing* was at least somewhat possible, based on my limited web survey, the situation has shifted a lot. With the conflicts unfolding in the Crimea and Eastern Ukraine, there is increased interest in the rapes committed by Soviet soldiers, so we can expect there will be more discussion of this topic in the future. However, the mode and framing of these future discussions will be critical, and in this respect, the *restructuring of the narrative* has

shifted more towards ethnicising rapes committed by Soviet soldiers, so that the narrative can be used in the language of everyday political fights. Meanwhile, although some documents have made it onto the web, Soviet military archives are still inaccessible, and due to their contingency, they can only provide rudimentary support for *legal confrontation*.

The exploration of internet-based sources requires a particular methodology sensitive to issues of selectivity, temporality, and representativeness – especially in Russia, where there are clearly attempts to exercise state censorship over the internet. Documents may make it onto the internet randomly, and no general conclusion can be directly drawn from these. Because of the way Russian archives function, it seems that individual users may offer online access to documents in selective ways that would not withstand scientific scrutiny. And the documents available online have a special inner temporality: sometimes it is impossible to know when the text was actually posted, and it is never certain either for how long it will remain accessible. Webpages that this paper references, for example, may quite clearly not be available in the future. This leads to the fundamental question of how representative are an active commentator's posts if they are using an alias? One possibility could be that identities are hiding the fact that some contributors might be working for powerful political actors.

Digitalisation has reached Russian archives too, though not without being scarred by the battles of memory politics. Priority is clearly given to preserving the memory of Second World War heroes. In September 2012, a user named 'allin' uploaded several documents from the 'OBD Memorial' (*Obschestvennaya Baza Dannyh Memorial*) – a public collection run by the Russian Federation's Ministry of Defence.¹⁴

The documents include material from the 26th Army's Third Court Martial of 19 April 1945, and its original is preserved in the Fifth Section of the Russian Federation's Ministry of Defence's Central Archive.¹⁵ In principle, similar documents should already be a part of the OBD Memorial webpage, but are not (yet) accessible. In the Central Archive, such documents proved to be accessible only if one could prove to be a blood-relation. Unfortunately, this protection of privacy entirely disables research as this makes it difficult to obtain the soldiers' names. Furthermore, even if one did acquire the names of all those court-martialled, not all the soldiers who committed crimes were tried this way. Among the documents uploaded by 'allin', some are connected to the atrocities against Hungarian women: among other things, there are two verdicts. One is the case of the rape of a nine year-old Hungarian girl. The other is the case of a Hungarian woman's murder.¹⁶ At any rate the document negates the previously prevalent opinion that rapists were either shot on the spot or got away with impunity. The document testifies that there was in effect an inner control mechanism in the Red Army. Those soldiers who transgressed the wartime penal code were put before a court martial, but who were these people precisely, and why were they tried? Why and for whom was this uploaded top secret document put together? To what extent was this strict verdict typical of the Red Army as a whole? Was the verdict actually carried out? There will be answers to these questions only when systematic research of the archives of extant Soviet military

documents is made possible. The uploaded document, which is a summary that must have been attached to individual trial documents, shows that rape was reported, and it was punishable with ten years of imprisonment. However, without systematic research of Soviet military archives we can only have assumptions about the inner workings of the Soviet army and the lives of the soldiers in it. Only when those sources become available, can the narrative truly change.

Visual presentations

There is a source, which has received little attention thus far from researchers of wartime rape.¹⁷ That is visual representation. If there were pictures taken, they were of dead women – taking pictures of the act was out of the question. Concerning the dead women in the pictures, one can assume or the police have retrospectively concluded – and stated in writing – that the dead victims were raped. It is only very recently that women who survived wartime rape have identified themselves and told their story. This would not be happening were it not for the cracks appearing globally in the conspiracy of silence, driven by the emergence of supportive women's movements and organisations.

In light of the debate sparked off by Skrabski's movie, how, if at all, should rape be represented though? How should we build monuments, if at all, for the victims? In the film's black-and-white inserts based on the story of a survivor, rape was reconstructed and re-enacted with actors. The immediacy of these images is in sharp contrast with the paucity of photographic documentation in my research on the same topic over the past twenty years. Below are four visual documents, which support my statement that the visualisation and representation of rape has ties to the potential for articulating a hegemonic or normative historical truth.

The first picture is a police photograph made in the Viennese Prater, one of the many preserved in the police section of the City and Provincial Archives of Vienna. The corpse was found in the morning; so the police visited the scene, took pictures of it and, from the medical report attached to the picture, the doctor had judged the Austrian woman to have been raped then killed. Although it was not known who did it, the assumption was that one, or a number of Soviet soldiers were involved. As the barracks of the Soviet army were not under the auspices of the Austrian judiciary system, there was investigation possible. Case closed.

I found the second picture while deciding on an illustration for my paper on rapes committed by Soviet soldiers, that was going to be published in the journal and popular historical magazine *Rubicon*.¹⁸ The picture was taken in Budapest by Yevgeny Khaldei (1917–1997), the well-known Soviet military photographer, who made many images that later became iconic, among them the picture of the Soviet flag on top of the Reichstag. His picture from Budapest was most probably made between March and April of 1945, because by mid-April, Khaldei was already taking pictures in Vienna. Árpád Rác (editor-in-chief of *Rubicon*) had telephoned me to ask whether in my

opinion those women in the picture were raped. If so, he asked whether he could publish the picture. Without hesitation I answered no. It would not be ethical because of the victims, and the picture had never been published. Since that time I have often wondered why such a picture has not, when the Khaldei collection has been used by so many for such a range of purposes?

The third picture is of a private (or at least an 'unauthorised public') monument by Polish artist Jerzy Szumczyk in Gdańsk, which caused some outrage last year. The sculpture was called *Komm Frau!* and showed a Soviet soldier raping a pregnant woman at gunpoint. It was eventually removed due to public protests and the lack of necessary permits.

The fourth, a monument in remembrance of Korean sex slaves ('comfort women'), or the *Pyeonghwa-bi* ('Peace Monument') was installed in Glendale, California in January 2014 despite the Japanese government's official protest. Here an empty chair reminds us of the woman killed by Japanese soldiers, and the commemorator, who could sit by the woman to listen to her story. This monument is a copy of the one erected in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul in 2011 to commemorate the one thousandth weekly protest held there every Wednesday since 1992. I would not undertake the risky, thankless task of suggesting the establishment of a monument for Hungarian women raped by Soviet soldiers the way quite a few people had did after Skrabski's film. Recent monuments in Hungary lack any sort of prior social consensus, articulating one-sided conceptualisations of memory politics and justifiably causing a storm.¹⁹ However, if we carefully contemplate how to talk about and remember a historical event that lacks prior visual representation, we may come up with two strategies.

First, according to Susan Sontag, there should be no visual memorialisation, because looking at the picture representing violence not only recreates the visual culture of it, but by marvelling at the picture from the outside, the gaze itself repeats the violent act as well.²⁰ This was one of the arguments justifying the removal of the Gdańsk monument, and the one that made me refuse to let the Khaldei photograph be published with my article in *Rubicon*. This is also why Skrabski's film, despite its thorough consideration of ethical issues, contributed to the perpetuation of the violence-cycle and its visual culture through rape re-enactments.

But perhaps the unease and embarrassment we feel when looking at these images can contribute to critical self-reflection. Maybe such a regard can facilitate a way of moving beyond the structuralist vs. intentionalist debate while at the same time creating space for the victims: a space for self-expression and a space for deliberately chosen silence if that is wanted. When looking at pictures we can be aware that we interpret them through information made available after the rape had been committed. This interpretation, like an artwork's iconography, is not independent of the iconography of survivor and victim narratives. The making of *Komm Frau!* was indeed deeply influenced by stories of rape survivors.

I discussed two photographic representations of rape. Both are necessarily clichés, because suffering can be represented only within existing iconographical frameworks. The picture of the woman killed in the Prater is reminiscent of the iconography of Christian martyrdom, while in Khaldei's

picture from Budapest, the man who mourns his female family members becomes the 'real' victim. Inevitably, in both cases the woman gets objectified. Meanwhile, the indifferent iconographical bluntness of the private ('unauthorized public') monument in Gdańsk, and the other extreme of the overly sentimental, idealised character of the Korean sex slave monument both fortify the victimised position of women. The monuments are based on narratives of the survivors, and the only narrative framework available to them is that of victimhood. If we subscribe to the intentionalist interpretation, which simply interprets rape as a weapon of war in the hands of military leaders or politicians that intentionally punish groups of people, we lose sight of the complexity and structural features arising from a proper analysis. In Hungary today, the discourse on rapes committed by Soviet soldiers is shifting towards such an intentionalist interpretation. Instead, our analysis should be looking more at the normative masculinity which is a foundational feature of militarism, and in this way we could confront the power-interests that underlie rape culture.

Conclusions

However, if we only apply a structuralist interpretational framework, by focusing on the victims of rape and dismissing the context to be of little importance, we assume that the culture of rape is structurally supra-national, which simplifies matters by denying us the opportunity of understanding more about how someone becomes a perpetrator; the reasons and consequences of rape, and the victims.

It is wrong to consider the Soviet rapist soldier as that because he is Soviet, as this ignores the fact that both Hungarian, German, and Soviet armies had the same military culture which prompted or allowed rapes committed by soldiers. But it would be equally wrong if we observed the perpetrator simply as a man (not to mention that by doing so we would also render invisible male rape victims), without taking into consideration the complex system of reasons and consequences, which enabled a particular soldier to commit rape and go unpunished. The task of complex understanding is our moral and professional duty towards the dignity of millions of victims. This chapter asks whether visual iconography might be the first step in helping us confront our self-created limitations and memory deficiencies.

NOTES

- 1 For my other writings on the same theme, see 'A II. világháborús nemi erőszak történetírása Magyarországon', in *Mandiner* 31/3/2015, http://mandiner.hu/cikk/20150331_peto_andrea_a_ii_vilaghaborus_nemi_eroszak_tortenetirasa_magyarorszagon; 'Szovjet katonák és nemi erőszak- az orosz internetes források tükrében', in *Mandiner* 11/7/2015 http://m.mandiner.hu/cikk/20150708_peto_andrea_szovjet_katonak_es_a_nemi_eroszak_orosz_internetes_forrasok_tukreben; and 'Miten lehet a sekszualisen väkivallan historiankirjoitusta?'

- in S. Karkulehto and L-M Rossi (eds), *Sukupuoli ja väkivalta – lukemisen etiikkaa ja politiikkaa* (Helsinki: SKS, forthcoming).
- 2 See on this A. Pető, 'Memory and the Narrative of Rape in Budapest and Vienna', in R. Bessel and D. Schumann (eds), *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 129–149.
 - 3 T. Krausz & E. M. Varga, *A magyar megszálló csapatok a Szovjetunióban – Levéltári dokumentumok 1941–1947* (Budapest: L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2013).
 - 4 On the Hungarian archival sources of Soviet occupation, see L. Balogh Béni (ed.), 'Törvényes' megszállás: Szovjet csapatok Magyarországon 1944–1947, ['Lawful' occupation: Soviet troops in Hungary 1944–1947, with English summaries], (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, 2015).
 - 5 K. Bischl, 'Telling stories: Gender relationships and masculinity in the Red Army 1941–45', in M. Röger and R. Leiserowitz (eds), *Women and Men at War – A Gender Perspective on World War II and its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2012), 117–135.
 - 6 The *főispán* or 'county sheriff' was an administrative position in Hungary, abolished in 1950.
 - 7 The Arrow Cross men belonged to the fascist National Socialist Party that ruled Hungary from 15 October 1944 to 28 March 1945.
 - 8 M. Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).
 - 9 The exhibition (1995–1999), prepared by Hannes Heer and Gerd Hankel, was the first to present the German Army as perpetrators of war crimes.
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